

## Message Text

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43

ACTION AF-08

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FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6748

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UNCLAS DAKAR 6305

STATE FOR AF/W

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, SG, RH, SA

SUBJ: PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE FOLLOWING IS THE EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION OF A DECLARATION OF  
PRESIDENT SENGHOR WHICH APPEARED IN THE DAKAR DAILY,  
LE SOLEIL OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1976.

QUOTE: LATE SUNDAY AFTERNOON, I RECEIVED ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF STATE REINHARDT. MR. KISSINGER HAD ASKED HIM  
TO GIVE ME AN ACCOUNTING OF MR. KISSINGER'S SECOND MISSION  
TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

AS YOU KNOW, THIS MISSION'S GOAL WAS TO SET OUT TO  
MEMBERS OF THE FRONT, THROUGH THE SENIOR PRESIDENTS NYERERE  
AND KAUNDA, A PEACE PLAN (SO CALLED ANGLO-AMERICAN) FOR  
SOUTHERN AFRICA.

AT THIS POINT, I MUST RECALL THE MEETINGS I HAD WITH DR. KISSIN-  
GER LAST MAY 1. WHEN HE ASKED ME FOR MY VIEWS ON SOUTHERN  
AFRICA, I RECALLED IN A FEW WORDS, SENEGAL'S CONSTANT  
POSITION, WHICH REALLY DATES NOT FROM OUR INDEPENDENCE IN  
1960, BUT FROM 1946.

PARENTHETICALLY, I REFER YOU TO THE TEXT OF AN INTERVIEW  
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I GAVE ON AUGUST 8, 1946 TO THE WEEKLY "GAVROCHE," WHICH YOU

WILL FIND IN LIBERTE II, WHICH TEXT I DID NOT CITE TO DR. KISSINGER.

WHILE NONE OF THE OVERSEAS DEPUTIES DREAMED OF CALLING FOR INDEPENDENCE, I TOOK, IN 1946, THE INITIATIVE OF FINDING A WAY WHICH WOULD LEAD TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A CONFEDERATION OF STATES, BECAUSE I DREAMED OF A "FRENCH COMMONWEALTH." THE PRINCIPAL MEANS TO THIS END THAT I FORESAW WAS DIALOGUE, BUT "VIOLENCE" IF THE OTHER SIDE REFUSED THE DIALOGUE.

TO RETURN TO MY ANSWER TO DR. KISSINGER, I SPECIFIED FIRST THAT THE FRONT LINE CHIEFS OF STATE WERE BETTER PLACED THAN I TO JUDGE THE SITUATION, AND THAT I HAD CONFIDENCE IN THEM, HAVING SENT IN TURN A TELEGRAM OF SUPPORT TO MR. SAMORA MACHEL WHO HAD CLOSED THE BORDER BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND RHODESIA. I SAID THAT POWER HAD TO RETURN TO THE BLACK MAJORITIES IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WITHIN TWO YEARS. REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE THE SITUATION WAS MORE COMPLEX, THE UNITED STATES HAD TO PRESSURE VORSTER TO MAKE HIM ORGANIZE A DIALOGUE, NOT BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES, BUT BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC COMMUNITIES--WHITES, BLACKS, COLOREDS, AND INDIANS--IN ORDER TO DEFINE THE CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. KISSINGER ANSWERED THAT HE AGREED WITH MY VIEWS CONCERNING NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. THIS IS WHY, AFTER HEARING MR. REINHARDT THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, I ASKED HIM TO TRANSMIT MY HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS TO DR. KISSINGER, WHO HAS OPENED A DOOR TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. I ADMIT THAT I DOUBTED MR. IAN SMITH'S ABILITY TO SEE REALITY AS IT IS, AND ABOVE ALL, TO BRING HIS WHITE COUNTRYMEN TO ACCEPT IT. NOW, MR. SMITH HAS SHOWN THAT HE HAS THIS ABILITY. WHETHER THIS WAS A RUSE OR A TRUTHFUL ACT, NOT TO SAY A SINCERE ONE, IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE; IN POLITICS IT IS FACTS THAT COUNT, NOT INTENTIONS.

I KNOW THAT THE FIVE CHIEFS OF STATE FROM THE FRONT HAVE MET, AND THAT THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WAS ONLY UNCLASSIFIED

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PARTIAL. MORE EXACTLY, HAVING BECOME DISTRUSTFUL, THEY HAVE RETURNED THE BALL TO THE BRITISH, NOT TO SAY AMERICAN, COURT. ONE CANNOT BLAME THEM.

NEVERTHELESS, THAT IS NOT THE ESSENTIAL THING. WHAT IS ESSENTIAL IS THAT THE AFRICANS, AND TO BEGIN WITH THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS FOR THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE, WILL NEVER WREST THEIR INDEPENDENCE FROM WHITE RHODESIAN HANDS

UNLESS THEY END THEIR QUARRELS WHILE CONSIDERING ONLY  
WHAT UNITES THEM, RATHER THAN WHAT DIVIDES THEM. ON THE  
OTHER HAND, WE OTHER AFRICANS--AND NOT JUST THE LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS--WOULD DO WELL TO TAKE CARE TO KEEP AFRICA BEYOND THE  
RIVALRIES OF THE SUPERPOWERS AND BIG POWERS WHICH TOO OFTEN  
WANT TO USE AFRICA TO CONFRONT THEIR IDEOLOGIES ON OUR  
CONTINENT. AND THAT THROUGH BLACK INTERMEDIARIES. WE HAVE NO  
INTEREST IN REPLACING ONE IMPERIALISM WITH ANOTHER.

IN ANY CASE, SENEGAL WILL ALWAYS REMAIN FIRMLY ATTACHED  
TO A LINE OF EQUILIBRIUM AND MEASURE, MEANING INDEPENDENCE,  
WHICH IT HAS FOLLOWED REGARDING ALL BLOCS FOR EXACTLY 30  
YEARS. UNQUOTE FULL FRENCH TEXT FOLLOWS SEPTEL.  
AGGREY

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